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This design, by Leonard Weisgard, appears on one of the Christmas cards being sold for the benefit of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (See page 24).

The quality of wholeness

Anthropologists sometimes point out that we Americans are people of extremes. We are, they say, ninety-nine per cent for or against this or that idea, plan or viewpoint.

In some of our early struggles to understand ourselves and our children, when environment versus heredity was an issue, the possibility of some balance between heredity and environment was uncongenial to many of us. Later, when we began to have assumptions about the IQ, or even about the unconscious, some of us tried to blot out the conscious and our own values of intelligence. Still later, when we became busy trying to comprehend the "whole child," we almost forgot that a whole has parts.

Perhaps now we are in a happy midway state in the swing between an either-or preoccupation.

Actually, it is not to concepts of the whole child or to lists of his needs, nor to his full personality expression that we respond in living and working with the young. We respond to the endless flow of specific situations at hand.

The family supper tales at which we laugh or frown, the references to school to which we give full or glancing attention, the tones of voice which we call nice or nagging, these are the partial expressions of the wholeness of living on which our relationships are built. It is through a myriad of fast-moving immediate situations that the parts take on the quality of wholeness.

As the articles in this issue suggest, even if we concur that we Americans are inclined to make extreme choices, perhaps we do not have to do so all of the time. For it seems possible to be intrigued by the components which add up to the growth and development of our youngsters' personalities through understanding such specific issues as tests, report cards, substitute mothers and even our daughters' relationships with their fathers!

Elizabeth Healy Ross
Deputy Chief, United States Children's Bureau

Psychological tests—

What can they tell us about our children?

No tests, or combination of tests, can give us the whole picture. Skilfully applied, they can help us to plan wisely

By Milton Schwebel

The flash of lightning in the night sky shone momentarily on the ape-like face of the man as he stood at the mouth of his cave in the rocks. He raised his rough-hewn club from his shoulder and struck out at the next bolt of lightning. He grunted and cursed in the language of pre-historic man, for he could not beat down the lightning, silence the thunder or halt the rain.

"Why?" he wondered. "What is this terrible thing that is happening?"

He was puzzled and angered for he could not understand what was happening. The laws of nature were unknown to pre-historic man. The world was an enigma, strange and unpredictable. Without understanding there could be no planning, no control; nothing but threat and fear.

Laws of behavior

We who are parents frequently find ourselves in the predicament of the pre-historic man: we are puzzled and bewildered by the behavior of our children and sometimes annoyed by it. Threatened and fearful, we too strike out in fury at phenomena that are impregnable to blows or curses. We, too, do not know how to deal effectively with behavior that we do not understand.

See this mother who stands talking to several other women. She seems to be attending completely to the conversation, but really her thoughts shift to her five-year-old daughter who stands by her side while the other children chase and romp in play. "Why doesn't she join the other children?" she wonders as she has done so often in recent months. "Why is she so stubborn?" she asks herself as she bends to the girl's ear and says, "Go on, Mary, play with the other children. Go on, now! Don't pester your mother. Can't you be like the other children?"

Mary's mother was no more effective than pre-historic man. She meant well, but her words in the ears of a child who did not feel secure enough to leave her mother's side only tended to confirm the child's insecurity. For when mother said, "Don't pester your mother," *this* Mary interpreted it to mean what she had feared, namely, that her mother did not like her. And when her mother said, "Can't you be like the other children?" Mary was sure of her mother's dissatisfaction with her and preference for others.

Mary's mother was ineffective because she did not understand Mary. Fortunately for Mary, her mother can be helped to understand. That is the advantage we have over pre-historic man. We have developed laws on the behavior not only of lightning and rain and sun and earth, but also of man himself. Young though it is, the science of human behavior has already contributed much that enables us to understand and, within limitations, to predict and control the behavior of humans.

For example we can understand why it is

that Mary feels insecure; why George has horrible dreams; and why Jimmy is failing, although he has high intelligence. We can roughly determine the extent of Louise's scholastic ability, and the degree to which Billy has the "stuff" to be a successful mechanic.

Increasingly as we come to understand how we complicated humans behave, we can deal more intelligently with ourselves. As we push back the boundaries of ignorance, the "strange," "irrational," "crazy" deeds and words of our children become more meaningful. When we understand, we can act. This is as true with an auto that is "acting up" as with a child in the same condition. Also a husband or wife!

Applying the laws

It is one thing to have general laws of behavior and another to know which law applies in a particular case. More specifically it is one thing to know that it is important for the human being to feel wanted and secure and it is another to discover whether Mary's maladjustment is due to a feeling of being unwanted. Psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers have devised various techniques to understand Mary's problems. One—*but only one*—of these is the psychological test.

Thus, the psychological test is an instrument—*but only one*—devised to help understand the behavior of one individual in terms of the laws of human behavior. It is designed, for example, to suggest to us whether Johnny has the substantial intelligence that has been found to be related to success in medical school; whether Jane has the sense of pitch characteristic of successful music students and of musicians; whether Jimmy has the spatial judgment associated with success in engineering and mechanics. Psychology has established the relationship between intelligence and scholastic success, sense of pitch and music ability, spatial judgment and engineering. The tests —and other psychological instruments—help determine whether Johnny, Jane and Jimmy have enough of these respective aptitudes. They also evaluate interests, personality traits, academic skills, such as reading, and other aspects of behavior.

The limitations of tests

Several points need to be emphasized in any discussion of the psychological test. (1) Notice in the paragraph above that the psychological test only "suggests" something about a person. There is no test, nor combination of tests, on the market that can tell you that your son or daughter will or will not succeed in high school or college, can or cannot succeed as "butcher, baker or candlestickmaker;" is destined or not to happy childhood, adolescence or adulthood, to successful marriage or parenthood. The psychologist or counselor who has studied the data on your child can help in wise planning, can help in wise decision making, but he does not have as much confidence in the infallibility of his instruments as the palmist or the crystal-ball gazer.

(2) It becomes obvious then that as an instrument the test is no better than the person who utilizes it. The X-ray plate and test profile are equally worthless in the hands of the amateur. Even worse than the well-intentioned amateurs are the charlatans who are mulcting the American people by "testing" and "therapy" that are no more effective than crystal-ball gazing, but more harmful because they are taken seriously. Professional organizations like the American Psychological Association and the National Vocational Guidance Association are seeking to protect the public by establishing high ethical standards and by listing organizations that have sought and received approval as offering professionally reputable services.

(3) We humans cannot really be sliced up into hunks of intelligence, mechanical aptitude, interests, achievement, personality, etc. We are all one. Yet, with the limitations of our present knowledge, many of our laws (and our tests) apply to only one aspect of behavior. For example, we know that "this thing we call intelligence" is related to academic success. Yet the records of many colleges, perhaps every college, will reveal that some very bright students fail and some very mediocre students succeed. Some other factors besides intelligence are at work: the interests, the ambitions, the basic skills learned in earlier grades, the ability to organize one's life. Unfortunately,

we cannot prepare a recipe that says so many cups of intelligence and interest, and so many tablespoons of ambition, so many teaspoons of aggressive behavior, so many dashes of being-able-to-work-with-others. This underlines the importance of having well-trained persons use the tests.

(4) We are ignorant not only of the proper combination of characteristics for success in school, college, marriage and general adjustment, but also we do not know the minimum amount of each characteristic that is necessary. For example, we cannot say that a person needs at least such-and-such an IQ to be a teacher. The range of IQ among teachers is very great. A study of the intelligence of soldiers in World War II, classified according to civilian occupation, was revealing. In this study by Dr. Naomi Stewart, teachers ranked eleventh on the Army General Classification Test (an intelligence test) out of 227 occupational groups. Lumberjacks ranked 227th. Yet ten percent of the lumberjacks had higher scores than twenty-five percent of the teachers! This may help you understand why a counselor will say: "But I cannot tell you with certainty that your son will or will not succeed in becoming a teacher."

(5) Again like the X-ray plate the test helps us understand an individual but it does not change him. Tests are not equivalent to counseling or therapy although they are used by counselors and therapists. We will know Mary through the tests and the other instruments, but we will not change Mary by means of the tests. The diagnosis based on the data from the various psychological instruments (including tests) will then suggest the type of treatment or the kind of action.

How the tests are used

A brief case will illustrate the use of a variety of psychological tests.

Jimmy was doing poorly in fourth grade. He was having difficulty with all of his subjects and was annoyingly aggressive in class. His mother asked Miss Jones, the teacher, for help, explaining that she had tried to tutor him but that she had become exasperated with her son's seeming indifference.

Miss Jones discussed this with Dr. Smith, the school psychologist. They examined Jimmy's school record and found that he had barely passed each year. They checked his performance on the *achievement tests* he had taken, to see if his teachers had over or underrated him in the grades they gave him. These are tests prepared not by teachers but by test specialists who have experimented with them and found them to be good instruments for the appraisal of past learning. Miss Jones and Dr. Smith found that Jimmy's achievement had been as poor on these tests as on the teacher-prepared exams on which his grades were based.

Then they turned to Jimmy's performance on two *intelligence tests,* one taken in second grade and one early in fourth grade. They did this to ascertain whether his poor achievement actually reflected very limited mental capacity. They found that his IQ on both tests was "borderline." But Dr. Smith pointed out that the boy's performance on non-verbal items such as picture items was superior to that on questions that required reading. "It may be," he said to Miss Jones, "that Jimmy's poor performance on the intelligence tests and in school is due to poor reading ability. After all, if he can't read the questions he can't answer them. I couldn't do very well on an intelligence test written in Greek!"

Dr. Smith administered a diagnostic *reading test* to Jimmy to determine his speed and comprehension of reading. Sure enough, Jimmy, now in fourth grade, was reading at the second grade level. "Poor boy," Miss Jones said, "trying to do history and geography and all our other work with the speed and understanding of a second grade reader."

Dr. Smith then administered the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, an *individual intelligence test.* This, and several other tests, including the famous Revised Stanford-Binet Scale, are given to one person at a time. The psychologist has the opportunity to make careful observation of the child's reaction during the hour or so they spend together. These are among the best instruments of the psychologist. The skilled psychologist learns much of the emotional make-up of the individual from

such a test. Dr. Smith found that Jimmy had normal intelligence and was potentially capable of going through grade school and high school and perhaps beyond. He recognized again that the boy was handicapped when he had to deal with verbal material. He noted the boy's tenseness and difficulty at concentrating, and his dislike for school. He explained to Miss Jones: "We would react the same way if every day we had to go to a place where we were reminded that we were failures. No wonder he dislikes school."

Miss Jones said she felt guilty for not having sensed all this before. The psychologist reminded her that there were no supermen, that she had forty children in a school on split-session. He reminded her too that prior to the current year teachers had been urged to attend only to the three R's. "I see, though," Miss Jones said, "that there were many clues pointing to his difficulty, and that if I had recognized them we might have discovered his trouble even without the tests." Smith answered, "Yes, but the tests tend to confirm the clues. They give added weight to the rest of the data."

Before arranging a conference with Jimmy's mother, Dr. Smith decided to learn more about the boy's feelings toward school, his family and people in general. But Jimmy was still hesitant to talk with someone whom he called a "teacher." Dr. Smith decided to use a *projective test.* These have received much publicity in the recent years, especially the Rorschach or ink-blot test. There are no right or wrong answers to such tests. On the Rorschach, for example, the subject "projects" on the ink-blot what is inside him. On the same ink-blot one person may see evil, gloomy, depressing scenes, while another person sees bright, cheerful scenes. Each is throwing on to the ink-blot his own feelings. Dr. Smith used the Picture-Frustration Test. He found that Jimmy responded normally to frustrations caused by other children, but that he seemed to be hostile to adults, many of whom he called teacher or mother.

A program was planned for Jimmy. He was given help to bring his reading and other skills to fourth grade level. Miss Jones helped him feel wanted and successful at every opportunity, while still expecting cooperation from him in the class. She learned about his interests and gave him opportunity to exploit them in school. With Dr. Smith's aid she used *sociometric devices* whereby she learned the feelings each child had for every other child in class. For example, each child answered confidentially such questions as the following: Which three pupils would you like to sit near? Would you like to have as your friends? Work with on committees? etc. Miss Jones organized the seating plan and the committee work in such a way that Jimmy was enabled to be with children whom he liked and who liked him in return. Some months later she told Dr. Smith that she owed much to Jimmy, "for I've become a better teacher as a result."

Jimmy's mother, in conference with Dr. Smith, came to understand that she had been pressing him so hard at home, expecting such high performance in school that she had sent him to school from the beginning in an emotional state that had handicapped him for learning. Jimmy, she saw now, felt that his parents' love for him hinged on his success in school. She recalled a period in her courtship days when she feared she would lose her man, when she was tense and worried all the time, and she wondered if Jimmy was tormented now as she had been. As she talked she was able to understand what had happened, especially as Dr. Smith helped her rid herself of feelings of guilt.

No final answers

When Jimmy's mother came to school for her conference with Dr. Smith she asked him, "What did the tests say we should do with Jimmy?" Dr. Smith found it easy to explain that test results give no final, conclusive answers and that they must be interpreted as part of the data. But it was not so easy to explain to her that Jimmy was not the only person who needed help. He knew, in fact, that this cannot be "explained" to a person; the parent must see it for herself as she discusses her relationship with her child; she must see it, feel it, believe it, accept it. It is good for

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On the success of her relationship with her father, may depend much of the daughter's future happiness

By Frank F. Tallman

Fathers and daughters

This article is for fathers, on behalf of their daughters. But first a few words about families, for of course it is impossible for a father to develop a healthy and satisfactory relationship with his daughter alone. It must be done with all the family. Therefore, we will begin with certain family attitudes that help the members to enjoy each other, and children to grow as healthy and useful personalities.

We will start with the father himself. We can assume that his concern is to be a good provider, but the money he brings into the home is really much less important than what he adds to the life of the family—not as a checkbook but as a person. He must often be there to enjoy and participate in the activities of his children. He has to realize that all his family like him for himself and that they learn about life and about growing up by being with him, not just by using the money that he makes.

There are other important attitudes that need to be considered. The father must realize that although he thinks of himself as the head of the household, nevertheless he does not *own* his children. They own themselves. They have the right to their own destiny. They have the right to be individuals, just as he does. This right to be individuals includes the right to have their own likes and dislikes, the right to their own opinions, the right to their own friendships. Children also have the right to learn self-discipline rather than to submit to the crushing effects of authoritarian control.

Remember, too, that they have a right to differ in personality from each other as well as from the parents. Nor should a parent try to force a child into a particular pattern or vocation just because he himself was frustrated in that direction. It is dangerous to assume, also, that we can make the child "take after" her grandmother or that we can make the daughter into the image of her mother, or that we can develop her, by our will power, so that she will be free from all the characteristics of relatives whom we dislike. We can help, but not force, her to avoid difficulties.

In considering the adolescent daughter and her dad, we must keep in mind, too, that the father is only one member of the family and that family adjustment depends upon his relationship to all, particularly his wife. It is a truism that adults' attitudes to their own families are cast very much in the mold of their childhood family experiences. Many unhappy marriages, many divorces, many adult maladjustments are due in part to a carry-over from the past of unfortunate family relationships.

One of the problems of adjustment that the young adolescent girl has to make for her future happiness is both difficult and basic. She begins by being very attached to and dependent upon her mother. If she is going to be truly adult, she has to free herself from this dependence so that eventually she can become attached to a man—her husband. In making this adjustment, she becomes acquainted with

The material on which this article is based was originally presented as a radio script over station WOSU in Columbus, Ohio.

the first man in her life, namely, her father; and on the basis of this relationship she begins to create her attitudes to all men. If it is a successful one, the girl will be able later on to accept her own man—not as a father, it is true, but as a mate and a full partner. This seems like a simple, almost inevitable step in normal growth, but there are several situations of great importance to fathers and daughters which sometimes make the transition difficult or even impossible.

Absentee fathers

There are absentee fathers who do not participate in the everyday doings of their children's lives. Participation, by the way, does not mean constant attention, but it does mean sympathetic understanding and being able occasionally to feel as a child. It is a very insecure and immature person who does not dare slide down the ladder to adolescence for fear he will not be able to climb up again, and who therefore always feels the need to be dignified and austere. It is very difficult for a girl to detach herself from dependence upon her mother and to get acquainted with and used to a man, if the man of the house is away all the time, or if he is there in name but not in spirit. If she has no chance to learn how to give and take with him, or how to be angry with him and yet love him and understand him, it is obvious that her particular dad does not merit the title, and that she will be handicapped in her relations with other men.

The dictatorial dad

Then there is another kind of father who is really *too much* in evidence. He is the father who is authoritarian and knows the answers to all problems, or at least says he does. He must be obeyed, must do all the thinking and make all the decisions for everyone in the family. Such a person obviously does not make a very good parent for a growing girl. His is too forbidding a pattern, and his behavior discourages and embitters the child. His daughter may respect him, but there is a big difference between a feeling of respect and a feeling of love. Thus the daughter with an inflexible dad may think of other men in terms of whether she respects or dislikes them; but she will not be inclined to think of them as understanding and lovable. She may feel that she would rather manage alone than take a chance on a boss who is hard to work for and doesn't pay wages.

Emotional chains

Now let us look at the opposite problem—that of the daughter who is called upon to absorb all the affection and companionship that really belongs to her mother. The father-mother relationship is first and primary, and a girl should not be put in the position of being more important to her father than his wife is. If this situation exists, a firm wall will be built between mother and daughter and later the girl may well be hostile to her father on two counts: one, because of what the attachment has done to warp her outlook, and two, because of the consequent bitterness between herself and her mother. If she is bound by these powerful and unhealthy emotional chains to her father, she will not feel free to date; thus she will not have an opportunity to choose and to be chosen. In leaving her father's side for social opportunities she will feel that she is abandoning him and letting him down. So it is important that a father does not have such a close relationship with his daughter that no matter how she struggles or how old she gets, she cannot bring herself to leave him.

Let us consider some examples of these various problems. First, the absentee father. Mary is a young woman having difficulty in understanding her husband. She said, "I can hardly tell you about my father. He was never around much. I have no particular feeling about him, or for him. Yes, he provided well for us but it was with money, not love. We had lots of playthings and lots of clothes when we were older and a nice house. Why did I get married? Well, all my friends were, and so I thought that I must get married too. And now that I am, I can't understand my husband. I suppose that I am going to have to learn about men right from the beginning."

Then there is the case of a dictatorial father. Mrs. B. is unhappy and is thinking of divorce. She said, "*Why* am I this way? I have every-

thing a woman could want—a nice home and a husband who's very successful in his work. But I can't get along with him. I feel as though nothing I do is right—as if I were out of step all the time, and on trial. I'm angry with him when there seems to be no logical reason. He's kind to me, but I still resent him —in fact, I seem to resent him when he is kind about as much as I do when he is cross. Well, now that I think of it, I guess I feel about him the way I did about my father. Dad always had the answers! I feel sometimes as if my husband were the same way, although it isn't really anything he *does*—there's just something inside me that makes me rebellious and unhappy."

Thirdly we have an instance of a girl who could not leave her father's side. Miss S. is an intelligent, attractive girl of thirty. She has been engaged three times, but each time just before the wedding she became depressed and ended up by calling it off. She thought she loved each one, but somehow as the wedding day approached each time she became less and less sure of herself and more critical of the man. She found that as marriage came nearer, and as the day that she must leave her father drew closer, her husband-to-be became less and less attractive. Here is a girl who has no ability whatever to make a family of her own, because she didn't come from a family. She came from a house where the father-mother relationship was not good and where dad needed his daughter for an emotional outlet. She was father-tied.

A self-audit for fathers

Every father knows naturally whether the relationship between himself and his daughter is happy and relaxed, and if such is the case he needs no help in enjoying such a state of affairs. But it is worthwhile to say something about what to do when the father-daughter relationship is sick. Some situations may be so complicated that professional advice is needed to help untangle them. But often if a father takes time off to think a little, he will be able to decide at least what the superficial cause of the tension seems to be, and having figured this out he should subject himself to an audit. "Am I fair? Do I expect my daughter to do as I say but not as I do? Do I trust her, or do I cause her to live in a fog of continuous distrust? Are my rules and regulations designed to make *me* feel secure or do they actually fit the needs of my daughter in her efforts to arrive at maturity?" He also can properly raise this question with himself, "Am I too indulgent? Am I so indulgent that my daughter will get a rude shock when she finds that the world and her future employers expect reasonable obedience, adequate service, and no petulance?" Or he might ask, "Am I expecting my daughter to be perfect? Is my image of what she should be out of this world? Will I break her by expecting the impossible?"

What comes naturally

Now a word of caution. Perhaps some of our readers have been trying to catalog themselves and have already begun to be concerned about their role with the daughter of the household. When all is said and done, the best way for daughters and fathers is to be themselves and get along in the ways that come naturally to them. It is important that both father and daughter realize that each is entitled to "blow a gasket" once in a while and still be in good standing with each other. Difficulties are much more likely to arise if tensions pile up, either because the daughter does not dare to express disagreement or because dad doesn't have the courage to say what is on his mind at the appropriate time. Young people need freedom to grow and to become independent. But they also welcome a certain amount of regulation and feel lost and insecure if they are given their way without any checks. They like freedom, but are unhappy if allowed license.

Fathers must try to blend the old with the new, so that they can use both the valuable experience of the past and some of the new things we are finding out today about young people's behavior. Thus they will be protected from making arbitrary and moss-covered rules that were considered all-sufficient in the gaslight era, but which just won't work today; and will be better able to build a relationship that is rewarding both for themselves and their daughters.

By Sara Dubo

What kind of a person can act as a Substitute for the mother?

The sitter's qualifications, the child's age, need consideration. But always, the mother must be the stable force

The problem of part-time mother substitutes is not new in America. But today, as increasing numbers of women work outside the home, the issue takes on a new urgency. Through their inclusion in the business and professional world, women have gained a new status and a new integration, but along with these advances have come some special problems. Thousands of women today are wondering how they can work and still provide the best possible conditions for their children. In many cases, there is no choice as to whether they work or not; economic necessity determines the answer.

The key to the solution lies in the availability of adequate mother substitutes to take over when mother is away; and from the many questions raised by mothers' groups, we can conclude that in the eyes of mothers this general problem is by no means solved. Thus we hear raised repeatedly such questions as: What is the earliest age at which a child can be left in someone else's daily part-time care? Is it best for my child to be at home or is group care preferable? What qualifications should the part-time substitute mother bring to her job? How can I be sure that a double standard will be avoided for my child? These preoccupations are valid and important, demanding more research, although our present knowledge should allow fairly definitive answers.

In considering mother substitutes, as with so many other mental hygiene issues, generalizing may be misleading and it is important to evaluate each situation in terms of the total picture. The experience with a substitute mother will, of course, have very different meaning for children of different ages; for example it will mean one thing to a seven-month-old and something very different to a seven-year-old. Our planning must take into full account these factors.

It is somewhat difficult to discuss mother substitutes for infants because present research findings strongly suggest that this is a period when the mother should do the job herself. It would be most heart-warming if our culture facilitated the opportunity for every infant to have full-time care by his mother throughout his first two years. During this time the child establishes his first relationship with the outside world, which is represented largely by the mother. Dr. Therese Benedek has pointed out how the child gradually attains a feeling of confidence in his world as his needs are met repetitively by the mother. With this in mind, it is evident that one person should mean "mother" to the child as his capacity for establishing relationships develops. Later, when this relationship is firmly established in his feelings, he is able to retain memories of it that gradually make him ready to accept substitutes.

This suggestion that the mother try to give full-time care to her infant in the first two

years may seem somewhat rigid and demanding of mothers. But it is likely that, if followed, later separations will be more comfortably borne by the child and the mother can feel a good deal freer in her work. For mothers who feel an impatient urgency to get back to earlier careers, it might be well to recall that twenty-four months move along rapidly and once past are gone forever. Of course, we do not imply that the mother should never leave the infant in the first years. Sitters whom the mother really trusts can take over for brief periods, which may be quite frequent. But it would seem that the freer from outside commitments the mother is at this period, the better.

Too young for the group

Unfortunately there are situations which demand that mothers return to work long before the child's second birthday. Economic reality, regardless of the mother's wishes, may force her to go back to work. In these cases, it is best to use a substitute in the child's home rather than to provide group placement during these early months. It is also best to have the same substitute each day, to avoid changes if at all possible, and to find a substitute who will give the infant care that is not only responsible but warm and friendly as well. The mother can hope to arrange her schedule to be with the child during some waking hours each day and especially to give him some of his feedings. Confusion about the "mother person" in these early months should be avoided and this can be done successfully if the substitute mother is not changed and the mother herself spends some part of each day with the baby.

A great deal has been written in recent years on the problem of making sure that the infant develops a feeling of confidence in his world. Less has been written about the mother establishing a feeling of confidence in herself, although there is a growing literature in this regard. There are many forces and pressures in our culture today that tend to impair the mother's feeling of self-confidence and these begin to operate before the child is born. One of the dominant themes of the Midcentury White House Conference was the confusion expressed by mothers regarding their role today. Dr. Benjamin Spock spoke for many when he said: "Due respect for a scientific authority has created anxiety in that it has robbed young parents of a natural confidence in their ability to take care of their children and made them vulnerable to every shift of scientific discovery and opinion." Dr. Leo Kanner, concerned about the cultural impacts on contemporary motherhood, asserts: "These wholesale accusations of villainy and treachery have tended to make the contemporary mother uneasy about her maternal role, have driven her to abandon her reliance on her own genuineness and naturalness . . . The parent of today has become jittery, anxious, guilty about herself in her relation to her children."

Because the mother is often prone to depression following delivery and is biologically readapting at many levels, her confidence in herself can be very readily disturbed in this period. Certainly the mother should have help in her housework at this time, but the helpers must not see themselves as mother substitutes. If the mother's confidence is to be impaired by over-zealous assistants, perhaps her own mother or a sister, in the long run she may be better off alone. At this time the husband plays a very special role and must be supporting and encouraging, not as a mother substitute but as a mother "bolsterer." In this first year the father's relationship with the mother is probably of much greater significance than his direct relationship with the infant. After years of interest in mothers, belated and welcome consideration is now being given to many aspects of the father's role in American family life. One thing is certain: the father is *not* a substitute mother, especially during the child's infancy.

Establish the schedule

When the primary relationship has been established, and the mother image internalized, the child can move on to new relationships. Now the introduction of a mother substitute is more feasible. In the interest of continuity for the two- or three-year-old child it is probably best if arrangements can be made for the mo-

ther substitute to care for the child in his own home where the surroundings are familiar and comforting.

In the selection of the person who will care for the child, the younger the child, the more careful one must be. At any age, of course, it is essential that the mother have confidence in the person she leaves in charge of her child. She must feel that she knows the woman, that she trusts her in every way and that she can relax about the child's care when she leaves home. Further, the mother must participate actively in planning for the child's program during her absence. Too often a working mother feels left out of this plan and, as a result, is anxious and uncertain. Especially in the beginning of the substitute's contact with the child, the mother must feel free to establish the schedule and to be specific in providing instructions. Some substitutes are protective of their role and show resentment of such "interference" by the mother, but this is a problem, with all its complications, that the mother must face and deal with. If the substitute cannot accept supervision, and cannot recognize the final authority of the mother, then the total psychological effect may be hurtful. Perhaps in place of the term "substitute mother" we should speak of "substitute *for the* mother." The distinction here may seem subtle, but I believe it is important. Is the part-time worker in the home really a substitute mother? In terms of her function as she cares for the child she plays the role of the mother, but, even to the two-year-old, his relationship with his mother is specific and has special meaning for him, so that she is clearly differentiated from the substitute. It is sometimes necessary to point this out to mothers as we help them plan their child's progress under these circumstances.

In terms of qualifications of the substitute, it is difficult to be specific except on two points: 1) her capacity to evoke positive feelings in the child, who must like her and want her with him; 2) her capacity to work with the mother under supervision, adapting to the requirements set by the mother. Maturity and flexibility of personality are more important than actual age in years. Many mothers ask how closely the substitute's attitudes and practices should parallel their own. While we have stressed the importance of the mother playing an active role in planning her child's day, it is equally vital that within the set framework established, the substitute be allowed to carry out the program spontaneously—to be herself.

Discipline and ethics

This raises the problem of discipline, ethical attitudes and standards. There will, of necessity, be rather broad differences in these areas between the mother and the substitute. One must expect this because the backgrounds are never quite the same and often very different. But are these differences detrimental to the child's growth? We might consider the substitute mother's role as being similar to that of a teacher: the teacher, too, serves a mother's functions in many ways—but only to a point. And so it is with the substitute mother. Provided her basic approach is positive, there is room for many minor differences between the substitute and the mother in the ways in which they handle the child. Experience with numerous personalities and divergent attitudes helps the child develop the realistic approach to life which sooner or later he must attain. The important thing to remember is that the identification with the parents will be primary and will supersede other less meaningful and transitory relationships.

It's not easy to share

It is not always easy to share our children, especially if we feel some guilt about leaving them in the care of others, no matter what the reason. And the dual relationship may produce its special problems. Thus Johnny, aged four years, when angry with his mother shouts: "Go away, I want Mary." Or Alice may complain, when mother makes a request of her: "*She* doesn't make me do it." Such situations are bound to arise and the child will at times use the dual relationship to play one person against the other. At such times the mother can explain to the child that each person has somewhat different ideas about many things and perhaps the simplest way to handle Alice's

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What should school reports tell parents?

By Katherine E. D'Evelyn

Rummage through a neglected desk drawer, or a box of papers long kept in the attic, and nine times out of ten you will find an old report card. If it is your own report from long ago, with the signature of the sixth grade teacher—and your mother's or father's countersign—it will bring memories alive; some nostalgic, some quite painful. If it is your child's, cherished over a period of years, you may remember the fight caused by Mary's "C–" in History or the pride verging on smugness that Ben's "A" in Algebra and "B" in Physics brought to you. The chances are that you will not tear it up, but will put it back with the things you still want to keep.

The verdict

Why was it that these report cards had so much meaning for us, when we got them, as children; or when, as parents, we poured over them with pride and anxiety? Perhaps because in both cases we felt, "This is IT—whether or not it corresponds to our private picture of ourselves or our youngsters, we must accept it; it is the verdict."

Interest in report cards has by no means abated today. But we have begun to wonder how we could ever have thought that all of what a child is could be boxed in the confines of one letter of the alphabet. New practices in our schools are making us realize that a report card should be just that—a report, a summary of things as they stand, as accurate as possible but not pretending to be the last word—*not* a verdict, but an assessment.

If you ride commuter trains, or attend bridge parties or club meetings, you will know that arguments about current reporting methods are frequent and lively. No school year goes by without teachers bringing up the topic, too, and trying to evaluate the reporting system in their particular school. The teachers ask themselves, "Are the reports adequate? Do they tell the parents what we want to tell them? Do they tell the parents what they want to know about their children? Are the parents satisfied with the reporting, whether it is by cards, letters, or personal conferences?" In some communities the teachers and parents never come together to discuss this subject, although it is of such great concern to them both. In others, the teachers and parents do meet to talk over the methods being used in their schools and to seek ways of getting better reports on the pupils' progress.

Current practices

What are some of the current practices in reporting, and the reasons for them? In discussing the new approaches described here, the author of this article is giving only her own opinion. And indeed, it would be nearly hopeless to attempt a "definitive" article on the subject, since school reporting must continue to change in response to the ever-increasing knowledge about children, about the learning process itself. Moreover, the system used in a given school depends not only on the teacher's knowledge but on the readiness of the parents for certain information and evaluations. Thus systems of reporting differ from school to school, as well as from year to year.

Although reporting is not consistent from the standpoint of content and method, most school reports of today are different from the reports of yesteryear. Since child behavior, and this includes the learning process also, is better understood, it follows that reporting should change for the better. But since teachers vary in their skill in reporting, and parents in their skill in understanding, we will find all shades of opinion as to the adequacy of the reporting being done.

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What should teachers know about themselves?

By Judith E. Kranes

Twenty years of teaching have made me increasingly aware of the fact that in the classroom it may not be only the pupils who are reacting as children. Very often we, the teachers, are behaving in response to feeling habits acquired when we were very young ourselves and which seem to us like something we were born with—something that can't be changed. Often, too, the teacher finds herself trying to cope with old and uncritically accepted feeling habits in parents. For both parent and teacher, a better understanding of these old attitudes, and the various reactions produced in us by a challenge to them, would be a great help. Through such understanding we might achieve a real synthesis in education instead of a mere jumble of the old and new, or a rigid stand in favor of one or the other.

New knowledge, new questions

Here is what happened to a friend of mine who had been teaching some five years in a small mid-western town. Each summer Miss Kraft came East to study at the university. As she gained in confidence, she was able to permit the children in her classes a bit more freedom to move about and work together. But out of this new organization there came new questions which she was not sure how to answer.

For example, if Jane came to her desk and asked, "May I send a note to Doris?" Miss Kraft would say, "No." If Dick wanted permission to draw a picture now that he was finished with his spelling, she said, "No." If at library period Donald wanted to look at some pictures in a magazine he'd brought to school instead of reading a school book, she said, "No." If Donald asked "Why?" her answer was something like, "Do as I tell you," for she didn't really know herself.

One day after lunch, when the class was scheduled for a quiet reading time, John, a rather silent, shy boy asked if he could look at some baseball scores in a paper he had in his desk. Upon Miss Kraft's reply, Tom, a bright, positive child put up his hand. "It wouldn't hurt anybody," he said.

"Well, scores don't belong in school."

"Why not?" Tom asked. "It's reading."

Miss Kraft felt her authority being threatened. Uncertain as she was with this problem, she struck back harder than was necessary or wise.

"Not another word, Tom. This is none of your business."

"There wasn't a murmur from the rest of the children," she went on, as she related the experience, "but I could see on their faces that they didn't agree with me. Today, ten years later, I know it *was* their business. Tom had more sense at that time than I did. Think how important it is to encourage a shy boy like John to express his interests, especially when they *are* his own, and to let him satisfy them when they don't hamper the rest of the class. Why say 'no' to something that gives a child pleasure and doesn't hurt him or anyone else?"

"Just one of those habits?" I asked.

The no-sayers

"I think so," Miss Kraft continued. "I'm sure it was the same when you were a child at school. We grew up under no-sayers; that is, if we dared to ask a question at all. Did it make us more obedient than children are today? On the surface, possibly, but I'm not even sure of that. I remember only too clearly what happened when our teachers left the room when I was a child. We went wild. There never was any suggestion that we might be able to discipline ourselves."

Continued on page 30

By David G. French

Science says—

Studies of disturbed children throw light on normal behavior

The heading of this department is not altogether appropriate for the article which follows. In fact, the main point of Mr. French's discussion of the famous experiment at Pioneer House is that science can "say" very little with certainty until it has gone through a long period of asking and searching. The great effort which Redl and Wineman made to set up and conduct their research within a sound scientific framework makes their findings on the behavior of Children Who Hate especially significant. It is, therefore, their method to which Mr. French gives special attention.

There are several reasons why readers of CHILD STUDY will want to become acquainted with the story of the *Children Who Hate* which Fritz Redl and David Wineman tell in their recent book by that name and in a companion volume, *Controls From Within.** For one thing, the books are exciting reading. Pioneer House, from which the material for the books was largely drawn, stands as a unique venture in living with disturbed children. It took ten adults to match the potential for riot and mayhem which five pre-adolescent boys were able to produce at any time of day or night in the old mansion on Second Boulevard, Detroit, where the project was located. The project lasted eighteen months, and the account of that eighteen months' experience, ending in the premature closing of the house, is in itself a fascinating story.

There are more pertinent reasons than entertainment, however, for commending these books to CHILD STUDY readers. First, they represent one of the most readable expositions of psychoanalytic concepts of personality make-up. Readers who may feel they are getting out of their depths when behavior is expounded in terms of egos and super-egos and ids and their various mechanisms, can move through the Redl-Wineman books comfortably. The jargon of the specialists is brought into the books, but only to tie in the colloquial terms for which Fritz Redl has come to be well known.

The most important reason for commending these books to CHILD STUDY readers, however, is their significance as research contributions to the literature on general child development and personality theory. Yet the authors themselves, whose standards for scientific research are high, recognize their work as only preliminary to the definitive research which remains to be done on the problems of the severely disturbed child.

Although the practical suggestions in the book about "tension-decontamination through humor," or "antiseptic bouncing," are fascinating, we must leave the reader to discover them in the books themselves, for it is the research aspect of Redl's and Wineman's work that I wish to stress in this article.

What was Pioneer House?

As background for understanding the work reported in these two books, certain factual information is required. Pioneer House is only the most recent of Fritz Redl's ventures into round-the-clock treatment programs for disturbed children. For several summers during

* *Children Who Hate* and *Controls From Within*. By Fritz Redl and David Wineman. The Free Press, 1951 and 1952. $3.50 and $4.50 respectively.

the 1940's he supervised the Detroit Group Project Summer Camp, where Detroit agencies sent their most difficult problem children for a camp experience under clinical guidance. His early experience was in Vienna, where as a student in the University of Vienna and the Vienna Psychoanalytic Institute he was deeply influenced by August Aichorn, whose book, *Wayward Youth,* opened new vistas on residential treatment programs for disturbed children.

David Wineman, co-author of the books, has worked closely with Fritz Redl in the various projects he has directed in Michigan and served as Executive Director of Pioneer House.

The two present volumes rest, therefore, on a much broader base than the eighteen-month program of Pioneer House, although the bulk of the material used is drawn from this source.

Initially, six children were admitted to Pioneer House. Only three of these were absorbed permanently in the House, the other three proving too advanced in their disturbance pattern for an open institution. Altogether, ten children were admitted, of whom five remained for from fifteen to eighteen months. The children were all of normal intelligence, free of physical handicap, and came from a working class socio-economic background. The major criterion of selection was the existence of so-called delinquent or pre-delinquent behavior patterns. In the authors' words, children were selected who were operating on an "expressional level." "Such youngsters seem to externalize all their tension into warfare with the outside world, principally with the adult as the representative of that world."

In psychoanalytic terminology, all the children were characterized by severely crippled ego-functioning with an amazingly effective set of defenses against any adult attempts to help them. In more everyday language (which the authors prefer) the children all gave the impression of being highly impulsive, especially along the lines of hatred and destruction, and of being totally unable to control their behavior.

Readers may wonder at this point why a book concerned with such unfortunate children should be recommended to parents whose children, while perhaps baffling and irritating at times, are examples of model behavior in comparison with the Children Who Hate. Perhaps we shall find that the behavior of the Children Who Hate is only a tremendously magnified version of behavior encountered in every child. The breakdown of their controls high-lights the function these controls perform in bringing about socially acceptable behavior in normal children. Time and again light has been shed on problems of normal people through the study of the abnormal; and Pioneer House afforded an opportunity for research on the nature of controls such as no other type of program could provide.

Problems of research on delinquency

Juvenile delinquency has been a rallying point around which to mobilize community concern ever since the term came into use. It has been the subject of innumerable conferences and books and of a substantial amount of research. While we know more today about juvenile delinquency than we knew fifty years ago when the first juvenile court was established in Chicago, our knowledge is still pitifully inadequate.

Each year our state and county governments pour millions of dollars into training schools, probation and parole departments, clinics and other services which seek to cope with the problem. There is little else to do; little else, that is, in terms of the children who are brought into court today or tomorrow and "disposed of" according to the best lights of a judge and his staff. There is much to be done, of course, in the way of learning more about delinquent children, of why they got that way and how they can be helped. While pouring our millions into the necessary but quite unsatisfactory present programs, we also should be pouring tens and hundreds of thousands into research that can get us past our primitive knowledge and practices. This may seem obvious, but so far it has largely escaped the attention of those who finance our programs for delinquent children.

Actually, of course, when we talk about "ju-

venile delinquency" we have not said much, and the Redl-Wineman books do not trade on this term. "Delinquency" is only the legal description of the behavior of a variety of children who for one reason or another break the law and get caught. While this is known and recognized by all serious students of the problem, much research is still directed towards "delinquency" as if it were an entity in itself.

Need for evaluative research

During the past year I have had occasion to review a number of pieces of research which were seeking more light on the problem of delinquent behavior. Some of them have been analyzed from a new viewpoint which has been called "the logic of evaluative research." It is interesting to view the Redl-Wineman work within this framework, because to do so brings out the significant advance in the approach of these men over that found in most of the recent studies.

There are certain essential steps in reasoning which must be observed in any attempt to analyze and evaluate a therapeutic activity, whether in surgery, psychiatry, or institutional work with children: (1) The nature of the problem, of the target, has to be defined. (2) The end product that is being sought as a result of the treatment has to be specified. (3) The precise character of the treatment to be provided must be outlined. (4) The extent to which the goal of treatment has been reached must be measured in a reliable and verifiable manner. (5) Finally, a causal relationship must be established between the treatment provided and the outcome which is observed.

It is precisely these steps which are followed in testing a new drug, in the treatment of a bodily disorder, before it is placed on the market. Unfortunately, they are not applied in most social treatment programs because the factors involved are so complex and variable and our knowledge of them is so limited as compared with our knowledge in the fields of medicine and biology. There is no study in the field of delinquent behavior which has a perfect batting average on all five points. The Redl-Wineman work comes closer than any study with which I am familiar.

The nature of the problem

First, the authors are clear about the "target" they are up against. The target is impulsive, aggressive behavior which erupts at the slightest provocation and which is sustained even though it does not seem to be related to the realities in the situation. One brief excerpt from the many entries in the books documenting this problem will make the point clear:

> "One of the most regularly occurring frustration reactions, during the early phase of treatment, would be produced when, on our numerous station wagon trips, we had to stop and wait for traffic signal lights. This was intolerable to the children. Even though they knew that this delay would be automatically terminated in thirty to forty-five seconds, though they could, so to speak, *see* it right out there in front of their noses, still they were unable to handle their tension. Aggressive behavior would break out: throwing things at the counselor who was driving, cursing and hitting each other, etc. Shouts of 'Goddamit, let's go, hit the bastard up there, what the hell are we waitin' for,' would fill the air."

The irritation expressed so vividly by these children is certainly shared by many commuters who contend daily with the traffic snarls around cities, but somehow they contain it. What is it that the business commuter has that the Children Who Hate lacked?

Redl and Wineman draw upon the psychoanalytic picture of personality structure for their approach to this question. They accept the ego as a "department" of the personality which is supposed to keep behavior related to reality, and to direct and channel impulses along lines which will produce the most satisfactions in the long run.

It is true that at this point a great many, if not most, of the assumptions of the psychoanalytic therapy have not been tested and verified in the way which is characteristic of science. However, in order to introduce some order into the study of anything as complex as

human behavior, some way of classifying and organizing and relating the various elements that go to make up this behavior is essential. Otherwise we would remain forever mired in an unsorted mass of observations. The psychoanalytic picture of how personality is formed has emerged as the clinicians have attempted to make some kind of sense out of what they observe in clinical practice. The danger in such an effort is that it may exclude phenomena which do not fit into the system. When this happens we have dogma and not theory.

But the point to be discussed here is not whether psychoanalytic theory has been scientifically demonstrated; it is the role of theory in research and the use which Redl and Wineman make of theory in their work. There is no doubt as to the cautious way in which they use psychoanalytic concepts. At one point they comment, "We think that a rebuilding of the whole personality 'model' is long overdue. For the duration of this book, however, we prefer to stick with this somewhat widened but basically unchanged conceptual system, for reasons of traditional convenience." Proceeding on certain clearly stated, and illustrated, propositions about the personality "model," Redl and Wineman identify as their target, as the problem encountered in the Children Who Hate, the absence of impulse control; or in psychoanalytic terminology, the absence of proper ego functioning. Their target is not "delinquency," with all the fuzziness and moralism that goes with that term.

The end product sought

The second step in the logic of evaluative research—specifying the end product being sought—emerged naturally from their first step. Their technical goal was to strengthen the ego functions in the Children Who Hate. Their social goal, of course, was to enable these children to live productive lives in the community.

The treatment provided

The third step, providing a carefully planned and controlled program focussed on the particular problems of the children selected

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A CHILD'S HERITAGE OF AMERICAN HOLIDAYS

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Parents' Questions

These questions are selected and discussed by the Child Study Association staff, and the answers written by its various members

The adventurous baby

*My baby is the kind who is full of life and curiosity about the world—just healthy and happy in every way. I hate to interfere with his explorations but where danger exists I feel I have to. The trouble is that unless I am awfully emphatic, and shout "*NO*" or "*BAD *stove" or "Scissors* HURT*" he pays not the slightest attention. Have you any suggestions as to how I can safeguard him without resorting to this scare technique all the time?* MRS. A.J.P.

First of all, you will have to be at peace in your own mind about your *right* to set limits to your little boy's exploring when it is necessary. Surely his curiosity and adventurous turn of mind are important for his growth and development, but if he were to do real harm to himself, the experience would not only be physically damaging but it might give him a fright that could have unfortunate psychological effects as well. If you step in only when it is really necessary and do so firmly, he may respond to your feeling without your having to shout.

This suggests, too, that an important part of your stopping him—again only when it is necessary—is the way in which you do it. Many other parents say, as you do, that "he pays not the slightest attention" to their loud emphatic voices. Perhaps in such cases, he literally closes his ears to keep out the din, whereas even a small child recognizes the firm but friendly tone which a mother or father uses to protect him from harm.

Beyond this, however, it is possible to keep this "NO" situation to a minimum by directing his explorations into safer channels until he is old enough to begin to judge the dangers for himself. Playing with pots and pans and plastic measuring cups may interest him enough to keep him from the stove; and kindergarten scissors and his own colored sheets or specially saved brown paper may serve as a substitute for your sewing basket with its sharp implements. In time, with your help and occasional explanations as to why he can't do everything he wants to, he too will appreciate some of the dangers around him, without losing his active interest in the fascinating possibilities the world offers.

"Subject to colds"

My six-year-old daughter is starting off to school this fall. I can't help worrying because she is subject to colds, and last year she had one right after the other, twice running into bronchitis. The doctor examined her this fall and says she's in good shape. But I wonder if it would be all right to ask her teacher's help in keeping her out of drafts, or letting me know when she gets over-tired? MRS. H.D.

It's quite common for even healthy children to be subject to colds, especially in these early school years. Fortunately, recent medical advances make them less serious than they used

to be. I suggest you talk over with your doctor what sensible precautions you should take, carry them out and then reconcile yourself to your little girl's getting some colds anyway. If the measures you and he decide on together involve such things as drafts, signs of fatigue at school, etc. then by all means talk them over with the teacher, explaining that you are doing so at the doctor's suggestion.

It would be a good idea, of course, to avoid the fussy approach. A quiet, factual explanation will be welcomed by the teacher; an anxious, overdemanding one may arouse antagonism. It's particularly important to keep your child from feeling that you hover over her, that she is delicate and "special." If she builds up such feelings about herself they can do more harm in the end than colds or even an occasional bronchitis.

When a child is subject to illness more than the average, it's always hard for parents to steer a wise course between necessary protection on the one hand and the dangers of over-anxiety on the other. If you are really aware of both horns of the dilemma you stand a better chance of meeting the situation wisely.

Safeguards for teen-age drivers

With all we hear about frightful accidents caused by teen-age drivers, it seems to me that some adult should always go along when a crowd of sixteen-year-olds goes off to the movies of an evening. In our neighborhood the nearest movie is twelve miles from our home. But my children claim that we are the only parents who feel this way and naturally I don't want my youngsters to be left out or made to feel foolish. Is there any way my husband and I can take a stand on this without provoking the tempests that spring up so easily in a small town? MRS. D.F.C.

The motor age has brought its own problems and we all know that there are no perfect guarantees for our own or our children's safety. Still, there are some safeguards that are a whole lot better than nothing and parents do have to work out ways of reducing danger to the minimum.

You're right not to want to make your children feel singled out by special rulings and this makes it especially hard for individual parents to stand out against what "everyone else does." But often it is possible to accomplish a good deal if everyone will get together. Some parents have worked out a much more satisfactory state of affairs as the result of joint discussions with the principal of the school, or a well-liked teacher. These get-togethers are most successful when the young people themselves are included. In this setting, the sixteen-year-olds often come up with some valuable self-criticism and many excellent suggestions of their own for safety measures. When they have a chance to analyze the dangers for themselves and make their own "rules," they're much more likely to be impressed than if orders are handed down entirely from above.

When grown-ups are tactful and willing to listen as well as talk, they can do much to help young people evaluate the dangers. The National Safety Council will furnish the facts and figures on how accidents happen, and these may be useful in your discussions. If the conversation is kept resolutely good-humored, and if many families besides your own are agreed on the need for safety measures, it should be possible to arrive at some general agreement that would keep any one child from feeling singled out. You will be more successful, too, if in other respects these young people are allowed whatever freedom and responsibility is suitable for their age.

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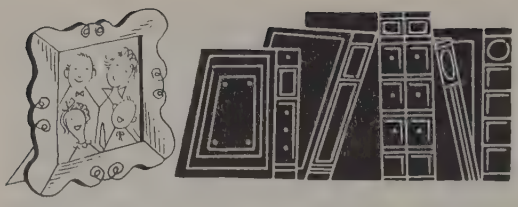

Book reviews

Today's Children and Yesterday's Heritage

By Sophia L. Fahs

Boston: Beacon Press, 1952. $3.00.

This is an exceptionally appealing and useful book about children and their religious development. Its author is a student of philosophy, an editor, a teacher of teachers and a mother who thinks boldly yet constructively about the spiritual and ethical dilemma of modern man. She knows her Bible from "kivver to kivver" and brings to her discussion of its use with children a psychological point of view which will be helpful to parents and teachers alike.

Dr. Fahs goes far toward defining for the modern parent the terms of a religious belief which may develop out of healthy experience in an ideal home and social environment. She stresses the importance of giving the child freedom to develop his own beliefs as to the nature of the universe. Her thesis is that the maturely religious person becomes so only after a long process of individual search, thought and experience. At the same time, she suggests ways in which the parent or teacher can, because of his own convictions, guide the child's wonderment about his expanding world and his imaginative inquiries about the earth and sea and sky—about death and birth and life.

The part played by religion in a child's development will depend, naturally, on the kind of home and social environment in which he grows up. It will depend to some extent also on the kind of religious training he receives. But the influence of teaching or guidance, as Dr. Fahs makes very clear, will be less great than the effect of the basic and characteristic attitudes toward life—the habitual emotional reactions and interactions—to which the child becomes accustomed in early years. For the religious beliefs that are planted in a child's mind, and the religious loyalties that an adult feels and professes simply stand out as mental and moral reflections of emotional experiences which underlie all character development.

The religious problem—like every other problem—would be easily solved if life could provide such simple, wholesome and essentially beautiful emotions as those which Dr. Fahs suggests are the birthright of modern children. But is the world in which our children form their emotional patterns, build up their loyalties and receive their religious training the kind of world that Dr. Fahs envisages? She projects an environment that exists primarily in the minds of those who, today, continue to believe in the nineteenth century myth of inevitable progress.

It is certainly true, as Dr. Fahs says, that "the depths of human experience are emotional, and vital religion will always fathom those depths." It is true, also, that the emotional depths of childhood ought, ideally, to be pure, serene and happy. The profoundest emotions of any child actually born and brought up on earth cannot, however, be securely or permanently guarded against the intrusions of what used to be called "evil." The function of vital religion is, therefore, to heal, cleanse, repair, support and reconstruct the personalities of those who, without religion, might never find a way out of moral chaos and spiritual despair. The insights of modern psychiatry and vital religion may, indeed, go hand in hand—not, however, through the Elysian fields of a modern scientific utopia, but, rather, through the mazes and distractions —and challenge—of a ravaged world.

ELIZABETH BRADLEY

They Learn What They Live: Prejudice in Young Children

By Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow

New York: Harper & Bros., 1952. $4.50.

Race Awareness in Young Children

By Mary Ellen Goodman

Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1952. $3.75.

The Bureau of Intercultural Education has, without great fanfare, been contributing much to the understanding of the basic problems of

intergroup relations. *They Learn What They Live* is the story of how a research team worked with teachers, step by step, to produce first awareness, then action, in attacking the problem of prejudice in young children.

These studies have tremendous value for all schools which are eager to fulfill their responsibilities for helping children to learn to live democratically. The project directors began with the assumption that a good curriculum for intercultural education corresponds closely to the type of curriculum that many schools are developing in their endeavor to educate good citizens. They have attempted to show that children's attitudes can change; that teachers can help them change and that teachers who are completely new to the problems of intercultural living can learn how to do this.

The reasoning of the project leaders was that if education is to help in improving human relations, it must analyze the problem of prejudice systematically as it affects children and as it is affected by the school. Some of the facets of this problem are: When do prejudices start? How are prejudices acquired? Are parents and teachers aware of prejudices in children? What responsibilities do parents and teachers assume? How can democratic attitudes be taught effectively? To find the answers to these questions, the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project, a school-community group, initiated a pioneer quest for a program which would help to develop democratic attitudes in young children.

They Learn What They Live is a rewarding and challenging recapitulation of the experiences of this project. It shows the effect of social forces on all children. Children learn what they live: in a culture which condones prejudices, one thinks and behaves with prejudice. It points out that if children are to learn new ways of behaving, more democratic ways, they must be taught new behavior and new values.

A major thesis of this work is that education, to be effective, must focus on people and human relations. Intercultural education cannot, then, be a series of devices or unrelated items appended to the curriculum (e.g., a unit, assembly programs, games, songs); the entire curriculum must be permeated with democratic values.

This kind of curriculum, the study concludes, is possible only if the school becomes a part of the community life and the community becomes a part of the school; if teachers work with parents, learn what parents want for their children, involve them so that they have an understanding of school problems and sensitize them and other citizens to the problem of children's prejudices and their inevitable consequences.

Another provocative book in this field is Mary Ellen Goodman's *Race Awareness in Young Children*. Miss Goodman makes a good case for the destruction of that old illusion: "Little children pay no attention to race." She says we have come to believe that ideas and feelings about race in America are entirely the product of adult thinking. But she points out that little children sometimes are amazingly aware of race; that they are ready to pay attention to race just as soon as they pay attention to other physical and socially significant attributes (like age and sex); and that the amount and kind of attention paid by different children are determined by various interrelated factors.

The author points out that there is an awareness in Negro children not yet five that they are marked children—in looking across the color line and liking what they see; and conversely, in rejecting much of what they see on their side. Here already are the dynamics of rending personality asunder.

The process of changing race attitudes is one of regeneration. There begins early, and proceeds gradually, in each individual a process much more complex than sheer "learning" of someone else's attitudes. It is rather that each individual generates attitudes out of personal and cultural materials which happen to be his own. Individuals in the same environment tend to get hold of rather similar materials and eventually to generate similar attitudes.

Often the outcome is unfortunate. Similar attitudes tend to be similarly bigoted where whites are concerned, similarly bigoted and

anxiety-laden where Negroes are concerned. It is necessary, therefore, to attack these prejudices while the personality is still young and malleable and before the generation process gets well under way. To do this we must alter many of the materials with which a child works toward manhood.

These two books bring many important questions to the attention of parents who recognize that democratic attitudes are essential for their own children's mental health and the social health of America.

WILLIAM J. TRENT, JR.

Psychological tests

Continued from page 7

her to see that her child is a product of parents in a culture, just as she is a product of her parents in a culture; and to accept this without guilt but with a desire to help Jimmy by changing some of her attitudes toward and practices with him.

In the final analysis, many of the problems of our children are parent-made, school-made and society-made. The Jimmys can be helped best when social pressures expressed through parents can be relaxed; that is, when parents can love and accept the child with IQ of 85 as much as that with IQ of 115; the boy who plans to be a mechanic as much as him who plans to be a medical doctor; the girl with "C" average as much as her who has an "A" average; when parents do not look envyingly at a nephew or niece who gets better grades or higher honors than their own children; and when teachers, too, can respect differences in children without making them the basis of comparisons.

This article has not treated a number of kinds of tests, e.g., the interest inventories and vocational aptitude tests, nor described a number of important uses of tests, e.g., in evaluation of a school program; in vocational counseling; in diagnosis of the mentally ill; in selection of industrial applicants. Nor has it indicated that a large number of reputable psychologists and counselors use few or no tests at all. The emphasis in this article has been on the use of tests in helping children with problems.

One of the characteristics of large numbers of children with problems is that they feel not genuinely wanted, liked or respected. These feelings generate failure and failure generates these feelings. The case studies, including the test data, reveal the failures and the feelings. The job of parent, teacher, administrator and counselor is to join together and help the child build self-respect. For that, he has to be liked and respected. No test will do that. But even an article on tests can end with the fervent hope that the building of respect for self and others will increasingly become the foundation of our social institutions, including the family.

Meanwhile, when we are confronted with our children's pressing problems, we parents can do no better than sit back, relax and discuss with each other some methods of helping them. In the process we may decide to consult a specialist, not for tests but for professional services that may include the use of some psychological tests.

CSA-Seminar film

Time for Television, a short film for young audiences, was previewed October 23rd for members of the New York Press. This film, the first in a series on which The Child Study Association will collaborate with the producers, Seminar Films, is an effort to show youngsters, especially in the pre-teen group, how they can enjoy television without letting it play too big a part in their lives. It is about a boy whose fascination with TV keeps him glued to the set, to the exclusion of all other interests, until he realizes how much he has been missing and learns to take television in sensible doses.

The film will be distributed by Seminar Films, Inc., and can be rented from Association Films which has offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Dallas. Sale price is $85.00 and the rental fee is $4.00.

CSA and Seminar Films are beginning work now on a second film in this series of educational pictures for children.

UNICEF Christmas cards

The Christmas cards being sold for the benefit of the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund, one of which appears as the frontispiece of this issue, may be purchased through the UNICEF Greeting Card Committee, U.N., N.Y., or at Lord and Taylors in New York, a box of ten for $1.00. Two of each design, in gay colors, are in each box.

Mother substitutes

Continued from page 13

"She doesn't make me do it" is a frank and unemotional "Good, but I do." Usually a mother can tell how a child is adjusting to a substitute; children give indications of their feelings even before they have learned to talk. To reassure the mother, and the substitute as well, it is wise to have the substitute spend at least a few weeks in the home while the mother is present before she takes over her duties alone.

At three or four years, the child will probably want to start going to nursery school, preferably for a half-day rather than a full-day period. Criteria for nursery schools have been widely discussed and are beyond the scope of this article.* Often a well-established, recognized nursery school can give the mother a more comfortable feeling about her child's care than a substitute at home. And through meeting with the school personnel she may have an opportunity to discuss her child's progress, which is usually a decided advantage.

I believe that by drawing upon both theory and experience we can outline, as we have tried to here, the major requirements for a good substitute for the mother. We have much less definitive information about how to find these people, and as a working mother myself, I recall many moments of misgiving and anxiety. This whole question of providing part-time care for children is one of the major social problems of our times and we cannot afford to neglect this vital challenge. With the trend today toward women working in industry, a new problem presents itself: the need to absorb the working mother into labor ranks, while at the same time recognizing her particular circumstances. In this Age of the Child, it is not too much to ask that the contributions and the special requirements of working mothers be taken into account in terms of working hours, part-time schedules and occasional necessary absences. The dual role of the working mother places real burdens upon her, but they can be eased and solved through realistic planning on a broad scale. This will require cooperation at many levels; the ultimate beneficiaries will be our children.

But we are far from such solutions now. It remains for the future to find ways of providing financial aid for mothers so that all can remain with their infants during the first two years. We must also find ways to establish adequate training and supervision of substitute mothers who will allow the mother to work, when her child is older, with confidence that all is well at home. Meanwhile many women must work for a variety of reasons and for now we must plan each for ourselves, never losing sight of the fact that the final control is ours, and that while substitutes may come and go, we remain the stable force in the lives of our children.

* See CHILD STUDY, Spring 1952, pg. 22, for a review of materials dealing with Day Care criteria.

Fine TV program resumed

CHILD STUDY is happy to announce that the TV Program, *It's A Problem,* an NBC sustaining program, which had to make way for the TV Program direct from the General Assembly of the United Nations, will return to the air in December at the close of the UN sessions.

It's A Problem does not attempt to answer personal problems of individual listeners but rather tries to help the audience become familiar with the best thinking in the field of child care. It is unusual because it is unpretentious, and presents discussants who are experts, yet express themselves in everyday language.

When it was first announced that this program would be taken off the air, protests came in from all over the country. Parents and teachers hailed the program as most helpful to them. Representatives of national and local organizations, of schools and colleges, assembled at a meeting in New York City to discuss ways and means to keep the program on the air.

Credit for this fine show goes to Phyllis Adams, Producer of the program, who is ably assisted by Ben Grauer as Moderator. Jack Gould, the *New York Times* Radio and TV columnist, commented when it was announced that the show would be reinstated in December, "When public spirited citizens are willing to speak up for quality television programming and a network is broadminded enough to heed their pleas, it is progress of a high order for TV." Our readers might do well to ask their local TV station to carry *It's A Problem,* or write directly to National Broadcasting Company, Radio City, New York.

Reporting to parents

Continued from page 15

One of the most important changes in reporting is the change from a competitive mark in subject matter, expressed in percentage or letter grades, to a descriptive evaluation of the pupil's progress in terms of his own achievement, and the inclusion of some evaluation of him as a person. I am speaking here of our elementary schools primarily, although in certain of our junior and senior high schools some steps have been taken in this same direction. This seems to me to be a valuable and encouraging step and indicates that educators are thinking of children as individuals whom they should guide along the road to self-realization, which means the fullest achievement of their personal and intellectual capabilities. This is quite a different point of view from that of considering a school child as a member of a class, to be filled like an empty well with facts, and then marked according to his ability to retain more of these facts than his classmates and to regurgitate them on demand.

How helpful are "letter" marks?

Let us consider some school children we all have known. There are, for instance, the children like Larry. It seems probable that Larry will never be a good student, in comparison with the rest of the class. But he will be in school until he is sixteen or eighteen years of age, and the school must provide him with something that will help him become a better citizen and community member. How helpful, or sensible, is it to give Larry a "D" or an "F" in reading or arithmetic month after month, and year after year? Think of what it does to Larry as a person, and to his own self-esteem. Schools need to appraise each pupil's total assets and report constructively. What has Larry accomplished, and wherein lies his greatest strength? This must be considered in his report.

What about Roy, who is an excellent student, and who can always get an "A" or "B" average in his particular school and class? How much does this really tell us about Roy? What kind of citizen is he going to make? Perhaps Larry will be the better citizen, although he cannot pass a regents' examination in social studies when he reaches high school. Let us look a minute at Roy and his "A" or "B" average. Is that an important fact to know about him? Certainly it is important to note how well Roy is doing in his academic work. But even as a measure of academic ability, this mark is not to be taken as the final word, by any means, since it depends so much on the intelligence level of Roy's classmates and the standards of the teacher. If Roy were to move to a school where the competition was stiffer, or the teacher more demanding, he might still be an "A" student. Or he might rate only a "B–" or a "C" average in his academic standing.

Maybe, too, you have known a Roy who went through your school as a top student, but who couldn't make friends, and who didn't participate in any of the usual school activities. In reporting to Roy's parents, how adequate would it be in helping them understand Roy's total adjustment if the report merely stated a mark in academic subjects? It should be the concern of the school and the home together to look at the whole boy, to see Roy as a person, not just as a bundle of unconnected capacities, characteristics or failures. This concern is the basis for good reporting.

What about another child who seems to be a good student, and also seems well-rounded in his ability to have friends and engage in a variety of activities? This, too, is important for the parents to know in a report; and many parents want to know these facts along with an understanding of their children's learning ability and academic standing.

To complicate further the reporting problem, a pupil who achieves a "C" in a subject, if that is the system in use, might be capable of earning an "A" if he were interested in the subject and were putting forth his best effort. A pupil who earns an "A" in the same subject may not actually have as much ability or intellectual potential as one who receives a "B" or a "C." He may earn it because he is putting forth all his effort, possibly to please himself, his parents or his teacher. Also, a child who will not learn, even though he has good intel-

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ligence, may be suffering from some emotional conflict or deprivation. A reporting system that fails to make note of this possibility is surely inadequate.

Of course we cannot discount the importance of some kind of evaluation of a pupil's ability and achievement, and the foregoing discussion is only intended to point out the complexity of child behavior, of learning and of reporting in a way that will be helpful to the parent and the pupil. It is also meant to point up some of the reasons for the changes in reporting over the years, and for the constant search for a better and more satisfactory way of reporting than the rigid classification of the old letter-grade and percentage systems.

What the parents want

In this constant search for better ways of reporting to parents, and of trying to determine what is important to report, schools have carried on a great deal of experimentation and research in the last few years. This process has included polls of parents' opinions on what they want in a report and how they want it reported. It has also included joint meetings of parents and teachers to discuss together the entire problem.

This article will not attempt to give a statistical summary of the results of these polls or discussion groups, but will bring forward some of the general opinions that resulted from them. Again, remember that the reference here is mainly to the elementary school.

The majority of parents seem to want several things from a report. They want to know:

1. Is my child learning?
2. Is my child popular? Does he have friends, and does he know how to get along with others in work and play?
3. Is my child working to capacity?
4. How does my child stand in comparison to the rest of his group in the various subjects?

This last item brings in the factor of competition, a matter about which many parents feel quite strongly. Teachers, too, feel strongly about competition, but their feelings are apt to differ from the parents', or from many of them. More about this later.

If we were to compare this list with the things that teachers feel are important, we would not find much difference except in point of emphasis and detail. Teachers, like parents, feel it is important for a child to learn, and like parents take a great deal of pride and personal satisfaction in their pupils' achievement. If this fact were better understood, parents and teachers would work together in greater harmony, especially in the case of a child who is not learning well.

Your good teacher of today goes beyond just noting whether or not a child is learning. He also notes the child's general attitude toward learning. Is he eager and zestful? Does he achieve only under duress? Or is he apt to do poor work when under pressure? Is he learning to assume more responsibility for his assigned lessons, and for the group living going on in the classroom? This last is significant as an indication of the pupil's emotional adjustment to life and the situations confronting him.

In other words, the learning capacity cannot be divorced from the child's personality and his relationship to others. The fact that the child is learning—i.e., retaining certain facts and grasping specific skills—is important, yes. But *how* he is learning is of equal importance. Parents and teachers sometimes disagree on this point, especially when one or the other feels the mark obtained in a subject is paramount. Most parents and teachers today agree, however, on the importance of getting the whole picture and seeing academic progress in a wider perspective.

The "why" is important

If a child is learning well in school, this lets the parent know that he is intelligent, and is functioning adequately in this respect. On the other hand, if a child is not learning well in school, it does not necessarily follow that he is stupid or unable to learn. A failing mark on a report card certainly tells the parent that the child is not learning. But it does not tell why. The why is very important, and is one of the things good reporting today takes into account.

A good report today tries to give a thought-

ful evaluation of the child as an individual with certain abilities and characteristics. In order to give this kind of report, a teacher needs to know much more about his pupils than when his job was merely to "grade" the papers. He should not only know how to teach certain subjects, but other things like the following:

1. The life history of the child, including his health and his previous progress in learning. He needs this information in order to evaluate the child's present progress. What is satisfactory or unsatisfactory can be judged only in the light of what has gone before.

2. The intellectual capacity of the child as measured by a reliable intelligence test. It is only by having some indication of a pupil's potential ability that a teacher can determine how well he is learning and whether he is receiving sufficiently challenging material in the classroom.

3. The normal expectations for children's behavior at each age level.

4. The child's ability to get along with his peers.

5. The parents' hopes and expectations for the child. The teacher cannot report intelligently unless he and the parents have a somewhat similar understanding of the pupil's abilities and limitations.

6. The capacity to analyze the reasons for a pupil's failure, and the ability to plan with the parent ways to help him, using any additional counseling resources in the school or community, where necessary.

7. The understanding of children's emotional needs and ways of helping them satisfy these needs.

Understanding is needed

The teacher cannot be expected to be a paragon of insight, nor a trained psychiatrist and sociologist, as well as an educator. Nevertheless, teachers are making an increasing effort today to take all these things into account.

It takes skill to give a report that is thoughtful, and not all teachers have this skill, nor do all parents understand a report that is different from the kind they were accustomed to in their own school days. Communication between parents and teachers is not always all that it could be if there were greater skill and sympathy on both sides.

The question of competition

For example, let's go back to an earlier statement about competition, i.e., that some parents and teachers become very disturbed about the question of competition in the classroom. Some parents feel the modern school does not give the child enough competition, and that, since the world is very competitive, children need to experience competition in the classroom. The teacher who sees the child in the light of recent knowledge about growth and learning, is more apt to play down competition, and to hope that the parent will think of the child's progress in terms of his own development. Such teachers feel that the child is inevitably faced with so many competitive situations that there is no need for further stress along these lines. They believe, rather, that children should learn cooperation.

Usually the parent who feels competition is important wants to know not only that his child is learning well, but what his standing is in relation to his class. A skillful teacher can try to help the parent get a clearer picture of his child's progress in relationship to his own ability and learning history. If the parent still thinks it is important to know his child's class standing, the teacher can place him as being in the "upper quarter," as "average," etc.

What I am trying to say is this: let's have parents and teachers get together on this matter of competition, and let's give it its proper place and emphasis. Children do have to face competition in the real world, and have to know how to meet it. But competitive standards in the elementary classroom *do not necessarily prepare the young child for this hard reality,* nor do they have much meaning at this stage of the child's development. It would take more time than this article has at its disposal to discuss how children learn to stand up to competition.

We have discussed content of reports, but we have not mentioned methods of reporting as yet. Schools of today use a number of means.

Some use a formal printed report card; some use written report letters; some use verbal report conferences with the individual parents. Whatever the means used, most schools make an attempt to give a careful evaluation of both academic achievement and the pupil's adjustment to the whole school situation. It seems to the writer that the verbal conference holds an advantage over any type of written report because it enables the parent and teacher to discuss, ask questions and plan in a way that is not possible by any other means.

Combining the methods

Since there is always a time element involved, many schools use a combination of report conferences and some type of written report card or letter. Usually this means two report conferences, and two written reports yearly, with the conference coming first and the written report and the conference alternating for the rest of the year.

In schools where report conferences are held, most parents are whole-heartedly in favor of them and prefer them to other kinds of reports. I am basing this observation upon parent polls, where the majority of responses was found to be enthusiastic. To satisfy the minority of parents who wanted written reports, the schools used a combination of conferences and written reports as mentioned above. In most cases, all of the parents liked conferences while the children were in the primary grades, and a few wanted "something in writing" when the children reached the upper elementary school. They seemed to feel that a written report would prepare the child for high school where he is sure to get a formal report card.

Again let me say, reporting to parents is always a live issue in schools, and should be. The content and method should never become static, but should change and improve as parents and teachers learn more about children and how they grow.

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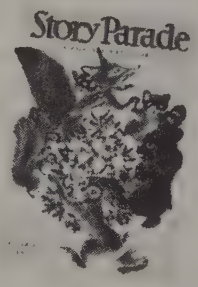

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Teachers' attitudes

Continued from page 15

The actions of many teachers and parents stem from just such an early training under no-sayers as Miss Kraft had been subject to. On the other hand, being too lenient can also lead to trouble. Steering a middle course is often most difficult, as Mrs. Arnold discovered. She was a teacher with whom I used to work.

Mrs. Arnold went back to college around 1934, after having taught in the public schools upstate for several years. Like many experimenters in the early thirties, she was so afraid of the ghosts of the past, of being like the teachers she had had, that she threw out *all* the "old" methods. Unfortunately, in the fifties, we still have a few schools around that function out of the principle of revolt rather than a revision of method, and the result is flabbiness or chaos. On the whole, however, most schools have found a good, solid middle ground, taking the best out of the old and combining it with the new. But my friend Mrs.

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AT ALL BOOKSTORES, RANDOM HOUSE, NEW YORK.

Arnold was an example of one who had still to find her middle ground.

The fifth grade she was teaching this particular fall had come up through the school with a preponderance of "difficult" children and a noticeable lack of enthusiasm for everyone and everything. And like so many classes that bear a family mark—whether for being bright, or creative or passive—this one was decidedly negative.

A new technique every day

Each day Mrs. Arnold tried a new technique, and each day the children grumbled and complained. On days when she no longer could bear it and became angry or impatient, she immediately felt apologetic, making amends as fast as she could. Meanwhile, the few children who wanted to cooperate became demoralized.

One day while she wearily stood off in the corner of the playground, hardly watching or listening to the children, her mind began to sort out bits of conversation floating over from a group of girls playing jump rope.

"I took the ball out of her desk."

"You didn't dare."

"Why not? She yells but she never does anything."

"Yeah. She's scared. The crab."

Mrs. Arnold recognized the voices. The girls were referring to the ball she had taken from Ann Barnes as she bounced it on her desk that morning during arithmetic period. She looked over at them. Most of this particular class came from well-to-do homes, where the parents were always straining to do the right thing for them, bending over backward just as she was. These children were indulged. They took everything for granted. Mrs. Arnold felt furious, and at last she knew she had a right to be. She realized that she had been too worried that the children would dislike her and that she had been trying to *make* them like her at any cost. In addition, her strong personal reaction towards many of the "mean" children made her feel guilty and ashamed, and unable to act positively or consistently. The children, quick to sense an adult's uncertainty, took advantage of her on every occasion.

"How did you work out your relationship with the class for the rest of the term?" I asked.

"First of all, I decided that if the children weren't going to respect me for what I knew was right, they wouldn't respect me anyway. In other words, I made up my mind that I didn't care how much they pouted or complained. I realized that these children needed, more than anything, to learn to live together and function as a class—to cooperate."

"How come it took you so long to discover this?"

"It didn't take me so long. I knew what I ought to be doing. The trouble was that I kept trying to be 'modern.' My own teachers had been so hard and demanding, I was determined to be different."

Parents and teachers will be familiar with Mrs. Arnold's experience. A mature person in charge of children will learn that good education consists of making demands, too, providing they are right and fit the situation.

Parents' resistance

Let us turn now to a case in which the parents' resistance to new ways made the going rough for all concerned. In Mrs. Stuart's fourth grade there was a boy, Robert Correl, nine years old. When he had been in the second grade, his teacher had discovered he was having considerable trouble learning to read. The proper test indicated that Robert's intelligence was good. Since school programs are built for the average intelligence, the school knows that when a child cannot learn, something is troubling him—that is, unless the teacher is mean or unkind, so that certain children don't want to learn from her, or unless she doesn't know her business.

By the third grade Robert still wasn't reading in spite of all the techniques the teacher tried. At the same time, she encouraged his participation in the other studies and activities. Too often, a child feels like a complete failure because he can't read, or can't succeed in some other subject, and this feeling only adds to his troubles.

In November of Robert's third grade year, the principal, after meeting with the teachers

who had taught him, asked Mrs. Correl to consult a psychologist about her son's reading difficulty. It was now clear Robert had some deep problem connected with learning to read, that, try as it would, the school could not solve. Mrs. Correl seemed an attractive, pleasant person. But it is never easy for parents to feel that their child has a "special" problem which cannot be handled in the ordinary ways. And perhaps, too, the principal was so convinced of the value of a new approach that she failed to help Mrs. Correl accept the necessity for psychological help. In any case, at the beginning of the fourth grade Robert's reading problem was no better, and still Mrs. Correl had not followed the school's advice.

"New fangled" ideas

One day, Mrs. Stuart met Robert's mother on the stairway waiting for her son. Rather breathlessly, Mrs. Correl asked if she could speak with Mrs. Stuart "for a minute."

As she helped Mrs. Correl remove her coat, Mrs. Stuart told her about the grade's trip that day to the museum, and how enthusiastically Robert had copied the designs from the Egyptian costumes in preparation for a play the class was planning.

Mrs. Correl nodded her head. "But," she said, "you know Bob can't read a word yet."

"Yes. We're well aware of it. But isn't it wonderful that he has so many other things he likes to do? So often a boy who can't read, can't apply himself happily to the other things in school."

Mrs. Correl was insistent. "After all, reading is your business. Don't you people feel you've fallen down on the job?"

Mrs. Stuart assured her they did not. "We feel the school has done a good job helping him learn how to work and play with friends his own age. He's good at shop and dramatics and social studies." And Mrs. Stuart continued, "You haven't taken our very important suggestion about seeing the psychologist. We need *your* help."

At this point Mrs. Correl exploded. "*My* help. You're the school. You ought to know how to teach reading. I'm going to tell you something, Mrs. Stuart. My husband and I moved into this neighborhood just because we heard this was such a good school. But we intend to make a change. I'm ashamed to have his grandparents come to the house. He can't read a word for them. My husband insists we send him to a different school, and I intend to. These new-fangled ideas! Believe me, the old way was best after all."

"The old way." Aside from letting Mrs. Correl get rid of her feelings, Mrs. Stuart wondered what she had accomplished. How could she get across to Mrs. Correl that her attitude about Robert's reading was being controlled by an old way that no longer fit?

As Mrs. Stuart discussed this experience with me, she made some very important points. "Aren't you and I a product of the old way Mrs. Correl was talking about?" she asked. "Isn't it our very generation that's providing the material we see in the comics, radio, television and movies? As I see the popular taste and critical judgment of the people who were educated with me, it seems that we can afford to ask some questions, seek some new answers, try out some new ideas. People don't talk about the 'old way' in medicine or science. But they simply don't understand that learning involves a chemistry just as complicated. And why do people keep talking about the old *or* new way, as if education were a choice between pieces of furniture?"

Occasionally in my work, I meet the challenge of a parent or teacher who is tired of having to examine every situation the child is in to find the right answer, and who longs for the support of an accepted formula. Certainly, even the most mature of us can get discouraged. But this should not lead us to the conclusion that children should be treated as mechanical gadgets—a twist of the screw here, a nail there to put the thing right. Even a vegetable cannot be grown without some regard for the soil and climate it needs. Above all, and particularly when we feel most frustrated, we need to understand our *own* attitudes. The better we understand them, the better parents and teachers we'll be. Whether we are young or old, education is a wonderful hope precisely because it is always possible to keep on growing.

Science says—

Continued from page 19

for treatment, is perhaps the most notable achievement of the Pioneer House experiment. A great deal of attention was devoted to the problem of a "hygienic environment." The baffling problem the clinical worker is always up against of not being able to control, and sometimes not even to know, what happens to the child once he leaves the clinic or office, was met head-on by Redl and Wineman. In the "hygienic" environment of Pioneer House, every staff member, from cook to housemother to group worker to director, was oriented toward a child guidance viewpoint and had, in his or her own terms, an understanding of the problems each child faced. The hazard of inflicting additional damage on a child was reduced to a minimum and, when unavoidably it occurred, immediate steps were taken to offset the damage.

The authors comment, "No surgery can be successful if, at the same time, free passage is given to germ invasion which will then cause death from sepsis even if a diseased organ is removed successfully. Similarly, no attempts at influencing behavior pathology can be successful, if, at the same time, every part of the environment is not kept scrupulously 'clean' from the point of view of psychological hygiene."

Hygiene in psychotherapy

It was a theory about the existence of unseen germs which gave surgery such great impetus in the past century. Similarly, in psychotherapy we can provide for hygienic treatment only as we postulate the "germs" which are apt to invade and render ineffective the therapy. Trying to maintain a hygienic atmosphere for five little ruffians engaged in a continuing war with established society is fantastically difficult and expensive. This is a problem, but to acknowledge its difficulty does not give us an excuse for evading it. It remains as an essential requirement for research of the kind Redl and Wineman have undertaken.

Continued on page 36

CHILD PSYCHOTHERAPY by S.R. SLAVSON

Drawing upon basic organic, psychological and social needs and drives of the growing child, the author outlines the conditions of child rearing in modern culture, and the pathogenic factors inherent in families, schools, and society generally. The influence of the family group and extra-familial groups receive special attention. The pathological consequences of environmental inadequacies and deviant interpersonal relations are described in detail, the clinical implications and derivative categories are outlined and *specific* therapies suggested. Psychotherapy and guidance of parents is also discussed. **$4.50**

UNDERSTANDING CHILDREN'S PLAY
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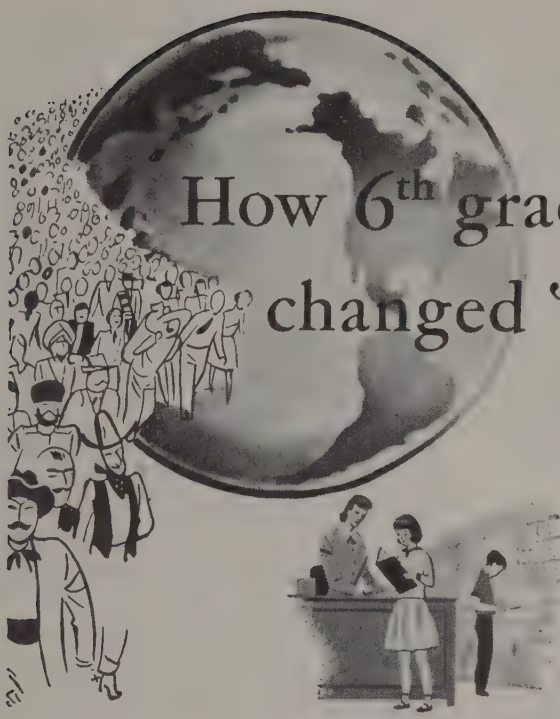
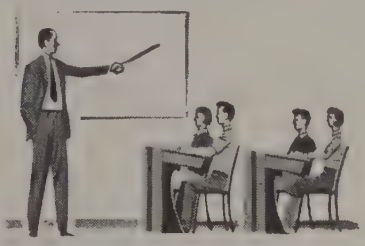


How 6th graders changed "the world"

"The World" was ready to go to press! The experts had checked and re-checked every idea, every fact, every word in the colorful new 32-page article on "The World." But World Book's editor felt that the illustrations, which are so vital to the article, should be previewed by boys and girls in the classroom.

So the managing editor went to school



...along with the World Book art director. The sixth grade looked, listened and made helpful suggestions. "That page is too crowded," one boy said, and the artist suggested what to do about it. The editor showed two diagrams on "How Climate Affects Man" and the class decided which they liked better. And so it was that "The World" was changed—by some alert sixth graders in an Illinois town!

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Healy Institute started

In Chicago, on October 21st, The Child Study Association was represented by Mrs. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg at the luncheon in honor of William Healy. The occasion was the ground-breaking for the Healy Institute, a center for the residential treatment of emotionally disturbed children. This is an outgrowth of the work with juvenile delinquents which William Healy started in Chicago in 1909. The Institute for Juvenile Research, which was established at that time, will administer the work in the new building made possible by state funds.

Dr. Healy and his wife, Augusta Bronner, who was also present, have meant a great deal to The Child Study Association. Miss Bronner led many classes for the Association, and Dr. Healy has always been our good friend and has spoken at a number of our lectures and conferences.

Science says—

Continued from page 34

Only a beginning was made on the fourth step in evaluative research, measuring reliably the outcome of treatment. Detailed clinical records were kept which permitted tracing the adjustment of each child through the various stages of his experience at Pioneer House. But no attempt was made to devise instruments for measuring "adjustment" within a known range of reliability. This is a tedious, technical task and can be done only after completion of the kind of exploratory work done by Redl and Wineman. The Pioneer House experiment has suggested at least some of the things to be measured and has indicated the range which measuring instruments must have.

Establishing causal relationships

The fifth step in evaluative research, establishing relationships between treatment and outcome, is the most difficult of all the steps. For most social research it calls for some kind of a "control group." Redl and Wineman stay strictly within their very limited effort with respect to this step. They offer careful, seasoned clinical judgment as to the impact of the treatment program on the children. They make no claims of "proof" about the outcome of their efforts.

This has been a very cursory and partial review of some of the features that make the work of Fritz Redl and David Wineman at Pioneer House one of the high points in research on delinquent behavior in recent decades. It is worth stressing that this research is essentially "engineering research." It starts with what material it can draw from the sciences, from clinical practice and from direct observation and goes about solving a practical problem—how to help impulse-dominated children develop the Controls From Within that will enable them to live in society. Workers with such children will find the books particularly stimulating. But the broader implications of this work with the unhappy, beleaguered Children Who Hate should not be lost. As yet this research has not yielded any data which could be applied *specifically* to everyday situations. But as progress is made in understanding these disturbed children, parents and teachers will be better able to cope with those problems which even the most "normal" child presents.

A FAVORITE!

Ladycake Farm

By MABEL LEIGH HUNT

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By Alberta Powell Graham *Illus. by Ralph Ray*
The life story of the gallant Frenchman. *A Makers of America* book. Ages 7-11 $1.50

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CSA 1953 Conference

The 1953 Annual Conference of the Child Study Association of America, scheduled for March 2nd at the Hotel Statler in New York City, will have as its theme "Personal Growth and the Pressure to Conform." Among the speakers will be Dr. Leo H. Bartemeier, Detroit psychiatrist and co-founder of the *Cornelian Corner;* Dr. Lyman Bryson, of Teachers College, Columbia University; Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, President, College of the City of New York; and Dr. Fritz Redl, of Wayne University, Detroit. The following day an All-Day Conference for Workers in Parent Education will be held at the Statler. The complete program for both Conference days will be available early in January.

New CSA staff member

The Child Study Association is glad to welcome to its staff Mrs. Dorothea McClure, new member of the Family Counseling Service. Mrs. McClure is a member of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers and a fellow of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. She has had many years of experience in psychiatric clinical work with both children and adults and has worked also in the field of parent education.

How do you handle your child's behavior problems?

- **Temper tantrums and disobedience.**
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The Puppy Who Wanted a Boy

CATHERINE WOOLLEY

One day Petey, who was a puppy, said to his mother, "I'd like a boy for Christmas."

His mother, who was a dog, said she guessed he could have a boy if he was a very good puppy.

So the day before Christmas, Petey's mother asked, "Have you been a very good puppy?"

"Oh yes!" said Petey. "I didn't frighten the cat."

"You *didn't?*" asked Petey's mother.

"Well-a-I just frightened her a *little,*" said Petey. "And I didn't chew any shoes."

"Not *any?*" said his mother.

"Just a teeny-weeny chew," said Petey. "And I remembered—well, practically always—to bark when I wanted to go out."

"All right," said his mother. "I guess you've been good. Anyway, you're awfully little. I shall go out and get you a boy for Christmas."

But when Petey's mother came back, she looked very much worried.

"How would you like a soft, white rabbit with pink ears for Christmas?" she said to Petey.

"No thanks," said Petey.

"Don't you want a lovely canary?"

"No, I just wanted a boy."

"How about some guppy fish? They're nice," said Petey's mother.

"I don't like fish," said Petey. "I'd like a boy."

"Petey," said his mother, "there are no boys to be had."

"No boys?" exclaimed Petey in dismay.

"Not one could I find. They're terribly short of boys this year."

Petey felt as if he couldn't stand it if he didn't have a boy.

Finally his mother said, "There, now, there must be a boy somewhere. Perhaps you could find some dog who would be glad to give his boy away."

"Do you think I could?" asked Petey.

"It wouldn't hurt to try."

So Petey hopefully started off.

Reprinted by permission from the new *Holiday Storybook,* compiled by the Child Study Association of America, published by Crowell, $3.00. The story appeared originally in STORY PARADE.

It wasn't long before he saw a collie racing with a boy on a bicycle. Petey trembled with joy.

"If I had a boy on a bicycle," said Petey, "I could run like everything! I'll take a little run right now," he thought, "and I'll ask the collie politely if he'll give his boy away." So Petey leaped after the bicycle. He called out to the collie, "Excuse me. Do you want to give your boy away?"

But the collie said *no,* he definitely *didn't,* in a dreadful tone of voice.

Petey sat down. He watched the collie and his boy on a bicycle until they were out of his sight.

"I didn't really want a boy on a bicycle anyway," said Petey.

After a while he saw a red setter playing ball with a boy. Petey was just delighted. "If I had a boy to play ball with," said Petey, "I'd catch the ball smack in my mouth. I'd like to catch the ball now!" he thought.

But he remembered how cross the collie had been. So he sat down on the sidewalk and called out politely, "Excuse me. Do you want to give your boy away?"

But the setter said *no,* he definitely *didn't,* in a terrifying tone of voice!

"Oh, well," said Petey, trotting off, "I don't think playing ball is much."

Soon Petey came to a bulldog, sitting in a car with a boy. Petey was pleased, for he was getting a little tired from so much walking.

"If I had a boy in a car," said Petey, "I'd laugh at walking dogs. I'd like a ride right now," he thought.

So he called out loudly, but very politely, "Excuse me. Do you want to give your boy away?"

But the bulldog said *no,* he definitely *didn't,* and he growled in Petey's face.

"Oh, dear!" said Petey. He ran off behind a house and stayed there until the bulldog and his boy drove away.

"Well, who wants to go riding in a car? Pff! Not me!" said Petey.

He thought he'd just rest a while, though. He had come a long way for such a little dog. He was limping a little when he started off again.

After a while he met a Scotty, walking with his boy and carrying a package in his mouth.

"Now that is a good kind of boy!" said Petey. "If I had a boy to take walks with and carry packages for, there might be some dog biscuit or cookies in the package. I'd like a cookie this minute!" he thought, for he hadn't had a bite of lunch.

But he remembered how cross the collie and the setter and the bulldog had been. So he stayed across the street and shouted at the top of his lungs, but polite as could be, "Excuse me. Do you want to give your boy away?"

The Scotty had his mouth full of package. But he managed to say *no,* he definitely *didn't,* and he showed his sharp teeth at Petey.

"I guess that wasn't the kind of boy I wanted either," said poor Petey. "But my goodness, where *will* I find a boy?"

Well, Petey went on and on. Up busy streets, dodging the cars and looking in stores and around corners. Down quiet lanes where dogs

Phoebe Erickson

rushed to their fences and yelped at him.

He saw Irish terriers, Scotch terriers, Skye terriers. He saw foxhounds, greyhounds, wolfhounds. He saw pointers, setters, spaniels, beagles, chows.

He asked every dog politely. But he couldn't find a single dog who would give his boy away.

Petey's ears began to droop. His tail grew limp. His legs were *so* tired. "My mother was right," he thought. "There isn't a boy to be had."

As it was getting dark, he came to a large building on the very edge of town. Petey was going by, very slowly because his paws hurt, when he saw a sign over the door. The sign said:

ORPHANS' HOME

"I know what orphans are," Petey said to himself. "They're children who have no mother, and no dog to take care of them either. Maybe I could find a boy here!"

He padded slowly up the walk of the Orphans' Home. He was so tired he could hardly lift his paws.

Then Petey stopped. He listened. He could hear music. He looked. Through the window he could see a lighted Christmas tree, and children singing carols.

Petey looked some more. On the front step of the Orphans' Home, all by himself, sat a boy! He was not a very big boy. He looked lonely.

Petey gave a glad little cry. He forgot about being tired. He leaped up the walk and landed in the boy's lap.

Sniff, sniff went Petey's little nose. Wiggle, wag went Petey's tail. He licked the boy with his warm, wet tongue.

How glad the boy was to see Petey! He put both his arms around the little dog and hugged him tight.

Then the front door opened. "Goodness, Dickie," a lady said, "what are you doing out here? Come on in to the Christmas tree."

Petey sat very still.

The boy looked up at the lady. Then he looked down at Petey. Petey began to tremble. Would the boy go in and leave him?

But the boy said, "I've got a puppy. Can he come, too?"

"A puppy!" The lady came over and looked down at Petey. "Why," she said, "you're a nice dog. Wherever did you come from? Yes, bring him in."

"Come on, puppy," said the boy, and in they scampered.

A crowd of boys was playing around the Christmas tree. They all rushed at Petey. They all wanted to pick him up. They all wanted to pet him.

Petey wagged his tail. He wagged his fat little body. He frisked about and kissed every boy who came near.

"Can he stay?" the boys asked.

"Yes," said the lady, "he may stay."

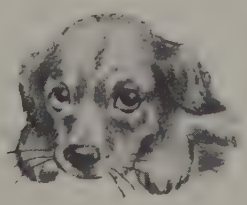
"Come on, puppy," Dickie said. "Get your supper."

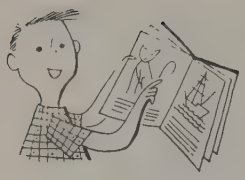
"We'll fix you a nice warm bed!" cried another boy.

"We'll all play games with you," said a third.

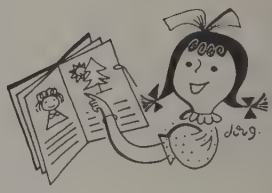
Petey wriggled away from the hands that petted him. Dickie was the one he loved best!

"But who ever would think," said Petey to himself, "that I'd get *fifty* boys for Christmas!"





Books of the year for children



Selected by the Children's Book Committee of the Child Study Association

These titles have been selected from the children's books published during the calendar year 1952. For convenience they have been arranged in age groupings, but many have a far wider appeal than could be indicated. Books of outstanding quality are starred (*). Titles designated (†) are books which illuminate today's world for children.

This list, with some additional titles, can be purchased from the Association for 25 cents. All the books listed are on exhibit at Association headquarters, 132 East 74th Street, New York City.

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*HOLIDAY STORYBOOK. Compiled by the Child Study Association of America. Illus. by Phoebe Erickson. Crowell. $3. The days we celebrate—patriotic, religious, and personal—in a full and varied collection of stories that reflect the essence of American differences and unity, enhanced by many appealing illustrations. For reading aloud or alone. (6-9)

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*WONDER TALES OF HORSES AND HEROES. By Frances Carpenter. Illus. by William D. Hayes. Doubleday. $3. Folk tales about horses from all over the world, attractively illustrated. (10-12)

*NINETEEN FROM SEVENTEEN. Selected by Bryna Ivens. Lippincott. $2.75. Nineteen outstanding short stories expertly chosen for a comprehensive picture of contemporary teen-age life. (12 and over)

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Christmas

*CHRISTMAS IN THE BARN. By Margaret Wise Brown. Illus. by Barbara Cooney. Crowell. $1.75. The Nativity story tenderly retold in rhythmic prose and heart-warming pictures. (Under 5)

*THE BIRTHDAY OF LITTLE JESUS. By Sterling North. Illus. by Valenti Angelo. Grosset. $2.50. Warm, glowing retelling of the Nativity story as it might have been recounted to the boy, Jesus, in a beautifully illustrated book. (6-10)

*AMAHL AND THE NIGHT VISITORS. By Gian-Carlo Menotti. Adapted by Frances Frost. Illus. by Roger Duvoisin. Whittlesey. $2.75. Dialogue of the now famous opera, with narrative background: a miracle tale about a crippled boy and the Three Wise Men. Superb pictures. A family book.

THE SANTA CLAUS BEARS. Written and illus. by Dorothy Sherrill. Crowell. $1.50. Delectable child-like picture-story about Santa's twin teddy bears and how they brought Christmas cheer to the small woodland creatures. (3-5)

PETUNIA'S CHRISTMAS. Written and illus. by Roger Duvoisin. Knopf. $2. Our absurd old friend the goose achieves a Merry Christmas and her heart's desire in a chucklesome nonsense story with pictures to match. (4-7)

*MAGGIE ROSE. By Ruth Sawyer. Illus. by Maurice Sendak. Harper. $2. A little Maine girl's family and community Christmas in an appealing story related with delicacy and charm. (7-10)

A MONTH OF CHRISTMASES. By Siddie Joe Johnson. Illus. by Henrietta Jones Moon. Longmans. $2.50. A smudge-nosed cat leads two children to the enchantment of past days during their Christmas visit to relatives in Texas. (7-9)

For the youngest: under five

*WHERE HAVE YOU BEEN? By Margaret Wise Brown. Illus. by Barbara Cooney. Crowell. $1.25. Perfect collaboration between artist and author make an enchanting small book of child-like verses about creatures.

*BABY ANIMALS. Written and illus. by Garth Williams. Simon & Schuster. $1. Animals lovingly pictured and described in slight text, look out

from a hard-paged book designed for small, active hands.

PERCY, POLLY, AND PETE. Written and illus. by Clare Turlay Newberry. Harper. $2. Darling kittens in charcoal drawings cavort through this little story of Millie's efforts to keep them safe.

FIRST PRIZE FOR DANNY. Written and illus. by Margot Austin. Dutton. $1.50. How a small boy's unusual exhibit wins the blue ribbon at the fair, told in the pleasing repetitive pattern of a folk tale.

MAT AND MANDY AND THE LITTLE OLD CAR. By Ruth Simon. Illus. by Lisl Weil. Crowell. $2.50. Jolly family story full of incident and adventures; a first "chapter" book with joyous illustrations.

MISS FLORA McFLIMSEY'S BIRTHDAY. Written and illus. by Mariana. Lothrop. $1.25. That delectable doll, Miss Flora, sets forth on strange adventures on her birthday, but finds the best at home. Illustrations enchanting as ever.

*A HOLE IS TO DIG. By Ruth Krauss. Illus. by Maurice Sendak. Harper. $1.50. Small children's own definitions of what some words mean to them provide whimsey for oldsters and youngsters, with delectable pictures.

THE LITTLE ESKIMO. By Kathryn Jackson. Illus. by Leonard Weisgard.

MISTER DOG. By Margaret Wise Brown. Illus. by Garth Williams.

WHEELS. By Kathryn Jackson. Illus. by Leonard Weisgard.

TAWNY SCRAWNY LION. By Kathryn Jackson. Illus. by Gustaf Tenggren.

INDIAN INDIAN. By Charlotte Zolotow. Illus. by Leonard Weisgard. Simon & Schuster. 25¢ each. Satisfying inexpensive picture-books about people, things and happenings of interest to young listeners. Illustrated in color and varied style.

Ages five, six and seven

*ALL TOGETHER: A Child's Treasury of Verse. By Dorothy Aldis. Illus. by Helen D. Jameson, Marjorie Flack and Margaret Freeman. Putnam. $3. Jolly, whimsical and tender verse by a deft master, including many published and some new poems. Invitingly illustrated.

THE MERRY MILLER. By Rosalys Hall. Illus. by Kurt Werth. Oxford. $2. The ludicrous dilemma of the miller is happily resolved in this jovial French tale embellished with matching pictures.

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THE STABLE THAT STAYED. By Josephine B. Payne. Illus. by Joan B. Payne. Ariel. $2. When the perfectly proper family moved away, the Little Red Stable had some amazing adventures.

*CURIOUS GEORGE RIDES A BIKE. Written and illus. by H. A. Rey. Houghton. $2.75. Our resourceful old friend, George, the monkey, again triumphs as a hero in laughable adventures.

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THE LOVELY SUMMER. Written and illus. by Marc Simont. Harper. $2. Two friendly rabbits enjoy the garden of some not so friendly summer gardeners.

THE NOON BALLOON. By Margaret Wise Brown. Illus. by Leonard Weisgard. Harper. $2. Fantasy in words and pictures of a cat's airy wanderings in a balloon and of the sights and sounds and smells that drifted up to him.

PUSSY WILLOW. By Margaret Wise Brown. Illus. by Leonard Weisgard. Simon & Schuster. $1.50. A large, colorful picture-book of a wee kitten whose search for a pussy willow takes him through the seasons.

*ONE KITTEN TOO MANY. By Bianca Bradbury. Illus. by Marie C. Nichols. Houghton. $1.50. Delectable cat pictures enhance this story of how Tabby and Whiskers learn when to be polite and when to assert one's rights.

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*LOOKING-FOR-SOMETHING. By Ann Nolan Clark. Illus. by Leo Politi. Viking. $2.50. A small Peruvian burro finds what he is searching for in an ingratiating story, artfully simple, complemented by superb pictures.

*THE BEARS ON HEMLOCK MOUNTAIN. By Alice Dalgliesh. Illus. by Helen Sewell. Scribners. $2. Tall tale of the Pennsylvania Dutch country, providing suspense as well as chuckles. Unusual illustrations.

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Ages seven, eight and nine

*MARY POPPINS IN THE PARK. By P. L. Travers. Illus. by Mary Shepard. Harcourt. $2.50. Welcome reappearance of the London nursemaid with a difference, who again brings magical adventures to the Park family in this fourth inimitable fantasy, delectably illustrated.

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THE MAGIC CURRANT BUN. By John Symonds. Illus. by André François. Lippincott. $2. Preposterous humor and rare fantasy about a little boy in Paris, enlivened by highly original pictures.

THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURES OF TING LING. By Vernon Bowen. Illus. by Kurt Wiese. McKay. $2. Fine storytelling in a richly flavored tale of how a Chinese juggler's helper won the emperor's lovely daughter. Pictures to match.

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FREDDY THE PILOT. By Walter R. Brooks. Illus. by Kurt Wiese. Knopf. $3. Freddy, the pig, in another tale of the incredibly complicated and hilarious doings of these oddly behaved barnyard animals.

*EDWARD, HOPPY AND JOE. Written and illus. by Robert Lawson. Knopf. $2.50. Humor and bits of wisdom too, in a whimsical story, at once familiar and different, about small creatures doing child-like things. Enchanting pictures.

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Ages nine, ten and eleven

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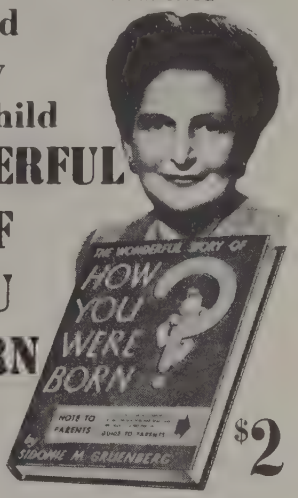

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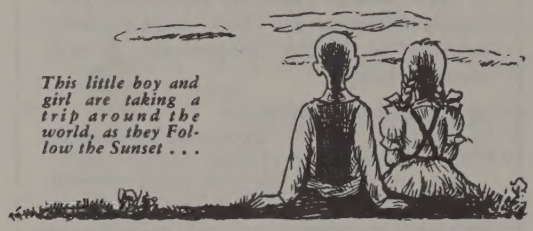

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